

PURGE VICTIMS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

(Not for Dissemination Outside the Bureau)



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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PREFACE

This monograph contains a series of 21 brief biographical sketches of prominent American excommunists who resigned or were expelled from the Communist Party, USA. Each sketch shows the individual's rise in the Party and the attitude exhibited by the Party after he fell from power.

It is designed as an aid for Agents in their interviews with Communist Party members and those who may have left the Party in seeking their cooperation as informants or confidential sources.

This monograph is compiled from Bureau files and public sources. It is not to be disseminated outside the Bureau.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A. Summary

The Communist Party, USA, callously casts aside its members, no matter how prominent, when they fall from grace within the communist hierarchy. Excommunists such as Earl Browder, head of the Party for 15 years, and John Gates, long editor of the Daily Worker, are made the object of continuing and relentless communist excoriation. Although some excommunists still retain their Marxist beliefs and desire a socialist form of government, their chances of attaining this goal seem to be slim.

B. Conclusions

1. The Communist Party, USA, ruthlessly exploits every individual within its ranks to attain its ultimate goal--the overthrow of our constitutional government and its replacement by a socialist society.
2. Excommunists are subjected to a vicious campaign of character defamation and are shunned by their former friends and associates. In some cases, the Party resorts to economic threats and even to physical retaliation.
3. The Communist Party, USA, never acknowledges any contributions or sacrifices made during a Party member's career once he has been dropped from the ranks of the Party.

4. Excommunists, particularly those long associated with the movement, generally experience considerable difficulty in rehabilitating themselves and obtaining suitable, remunerative employment.
5. Former communists are placed by those remaining in the Party in the category of moral lepers and complete ostracism from the communist movement is something expelled members expect and endure.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF PROMINENT EXCOMMUNISTS

EARL BROWDER

Socialist Background

The most important figure ever to be summarily expelled from the Communist Party, USA, is Earl Browder. Party boss for 15 years, Browder was exposed to an unconventional atmosphere from early childhood. He was born in Kansas in 1891, the son of native Americans, and became a member of the Socialist Party at the age of 15. Several years later, he affiliated with a syndicalist group led by William Z. Foster, presently chairman emeritus of the Communist Party, USA. In 1917, Browder and two of his brothers were jailed because of activities opposing America's entrance into World War I. (40-3798-605; CR monograph "The Communist Party, USA vs Earl Russell Browder & Brownsons" p 9)

Charter Member of Communist Party

In 1919, Browder became a charter member of the Communist Party, USA, and in 1921 attended the Third Congress of the Communist International (Comintern). * From 1921 through 1926 he assisted William Z.

*The Communist International, or the Comintern, as it was commonly called, was established in 1919 as a union of communist parties throughout the world. Admission to the Comintern was contingent upon the acceptance of 21 conditions. The Communist Party in the United States became an affiliate in 1921 but disaffiliated in 1940. The Comintern was formally dissolved in 1943 as an ostensible gesture of "friendship" and unity between the Soviet Union and its World War II allies. The basic principles and objectives of the Comintern, however, are still in effect and are closely adhered to at the present time by the Communist Party, USA.

Foster in the Trade-Union Educational League.* In 1927, Browder went to China as a member of the International Workers Delegation to coordinate the trade-union organizations of the Pacific countries. In 1928, he attended the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern. 40-3798-605

CR Monograph re Browder

General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA

In 1930, Browder was elected general secretary of the Communist Party, USA, the most influential office in this organization. He was to hold this position for 15 years with Moscow's blessing. During this period, he ran for President of the United States on the Communist Party ticket, and in 1937 and 1938 visited Spain where he encouraged the Loyalist cause. In 1939, he was convicted of a passport violation and was incarcerated in the Federal penitentiary at Atlanta until his release by President Roosevelt in May, 1942.

40-3798-605; CR Monograph re Browder

Faithfully Followed Party Line

During his entire tenure in office, Browder strictly adhered to the Party line even when it completely reversed itself, which was often. In 1935, the Party abruptly changed from harsh offensive tactics against capitalism to a united front policy; in 1939, it switched from opposing Hitler to praising him; in 1941, with Hitler's attack upon the Soviet Union, the Party denounced Nazism.

*See Appendix for citation.

and cried for all-out aid for the war effort. Browder outdid himself in completely identifying himself with each tactic, exhorting the Party faithful to do the same. *CR Monograph re Browder pp 13-19*

Communist Political Association

In 1944, Browder dissolved the Communist Party and created the Communist Political Association. He was elected president and, as such, directed the activities of this new organization. *CR Monograph re Browder pp 27-54*

Prolific Author

Browder is the author of numerous articles and many books glorifying the Communist Party. He was a speaker and lecturer at important Communist Party meetings.

What Did the Party Do?

Browder's demise was heralded through the medium of an article by Jacques Duclos, French communist leader, who in April, 1945, denounced the Communist Political Association as a repudiation of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Browder was relieved of all Party posts, the Communist Party, USA, was reconstituted, and in February, 1946, he was expelled from the Party as a "revisionist," a "factionalist," a "deserter from communism," and a "renegade." *CR Monograph re Browder pp 56-136*

It will be recalled that by the Spring of 1945, the Germans were on the verge of total collapse. International communism felt that the Communist Political Association had served its purpose and should be replaced by an old-type, militant Communist Party in the United States. The Duclos article was the weapon and Browder was the victim. History has repeated itself in the Party. At the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, USA, held in February, 1957, the same Jacques Duclos sent a strong letter to National Chairman William Z. Foster condemning the alleged revisionism of the editor of the Daily Worker, John Gates. Gates left the Party a year later.

Encl. 1/15/58

Where Is He Today?

Today, Earl Browder is a broken man, disillusioned and bitter. He has been repelled in his attempts to rejoin the Communist Party. He has been ostracized by his former friends and close associates. To be termed a "Browderite" is one of the worst epithets the Party can call its enemies. The Party has written innumerable articles and pamphlets maligning him. It has never once acknowledged his sacrifices, contributions, and efforts to enhance the Party's prestige during his long reign as Party leader. His sons refuse to be communists. His wife is dead. He gave almost all of his life to the Communist Party. This Party, in turn, now rewards him with nothing but vilification, and for what?

40-3798

When Browder was expelled, the Party was at the peak of its influence. It had more members and was better off financially than any time since. Today, the Party speaks of a broad socialist movement to strengthen its ranks and increase its influence. Browder had this in 1945, but international communism was either too obtuse to recognize it or too perverse to admit it.

GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY

Graduate Lawyer

George Charney was born in the Ukraine in 1905. His family emigrated to the United States where Charney became a citizen through the naturalization of his father in 1916. His family settled in the Bronx, New York, where Charney became president of his senior class in high school. In 1927, he received a Bachelor of Science degree in Economics from the University of Pennsylvania and later a Bachelor of Laws degree from New York University. He also spent a year studying economics at Harvard University.

100-330660-50, 100; DW 12/21/51 p4

Awarded Bronze Star

Charney served in the United States Armed Forces for three years during World War II. He participated in campaigns in New Guinea and the Southern Philippines, qualified for the Combat Infantryman Badge, and was awarded the Bronze Star Medal for meritorious service.

100-330660-50

New York State Functionary

Charney came out of school in the height of the depression. For a time he worked as a statistician and law clerk. In 1933, he joined the

Communist Party. Charney worked as an organizer in the New England and New York Party districts for a number of years. In 1941, he became attached to the New York State organization, directing the Daily Worker* subscription campaign that year. Following his Army service, Charney returned to his Party duties and was elected to the New York State committee. He assumed a leading role in the state organization, holding the position of labor secretary and being active in trade-union work on a national level. In addition to his open Party duties, Charney was an influential figure in the expansion of the Party's underground apparatus in the late 1940s. 100-330660-50, '63, '78, '95

Prosecuted Under Smith Act**

In June, 1951, Charney was indicted by a Federal Grand Jury under conspiracy provisions of the Smith Act.** After a trial, he was found guilty and, on February 3, 1953, sentenced to two years in prison and fined \$4,000. Following his sentencing, Charney unequivocally stated,

"I stand by my beliefs, Your Honor. I can no more cast them out than I would cast out my bones."

DW 4/7/53 p 8

*The Daily Worker was an east coast communist newspaper which suspended publication on January 13, 1958.

**The Smith Act, which was passed by Congress in 1940, makes it unlawful for anyone to knowingly teach and advocate the duty and necessity of overthrowing and destroying the United States Government by force or violence.

After appealing this conviction unsuccessfully, he was committed to the Federal penitentiary, Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, in January, 1955. Charney was released from prison a few months later when he was granted a new trial on the ground that a Government witness had testified falsely against him. In July, 1956, he was found guilty on the re-trial and sentenced to two years imprisonment. While he was on bail pending appeal, the United States Court of Appeals in August, 1958, reversed his conviction and dismissed the indictment based on Supreme Court decision that held that mere teaching or advocacy of the forcible overthrow of the Government did not measure up to a "call to action." 100-330660-78, 85, 94, 103

NY Times 8/5/58 p 20

What Did the Party Do?

Except for the short period Charney spent in prison in Lewisburg, he was free on bail during his long indictment. He pursued a strenuous round of Party activities, spoke before communist front organizations, contributed to communist publications, taught at the Jefferson School of Social Science,* and acted as chairman of the New York Party district. He was elected to the Party's national committee at the 16th National Convention and to its national executive committee. 100-330660-95, 97, 104, 105

*See Appendix for citation.

Despite all his sincere efforts to further the communist cause, Charney became the subject of severe criticism by some leaders. He was characterized as an extreme rightist whose policies, if followed, would result in the dissolution of the Communist Party in this country and the repudiation of Marxism-Leninism. His policies rejected, his long and brilliant Party career ignored, Charney resigned from the New York State staff in February, 1958. Four months later he left the Party itself.

100-330660-119, 123

Where Is He Today

Today, at the age of 54, George Charney faces a bleak future. His break with the Party has separated him from lifelong associates and intimate friends. He is presently employed by a printing firm in New York City. Certainly this is not much of a reward for twenty-five years of active service in the Communist Party. 100-330660-132

JOSEPH CLARK

College Graduate

Joseph Clark was born June 18, 1913, in Brooklyn, New York, the son of Russian-born parents. In 1935, he graduated from Brooklyn College with a Bachelor of Science degree in Social Science.

100-19591-86

Prominent in Young Communist League

Clark joined the Young Communist League (YCL)* in 1929. In 1930, he was arrested for passing out communist propaganda to his high school classmates. By 1936, he had become executive secretary of the YCL in Detroit. Between 1937 and 1942, Clark was editor of various communist publications in the youth field. In 1940, he was arrested for attempting to recruit members for the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.*

100-19591-16, 86

Silver Star Veteran

Clark served in the United States Armed Forces during World War II and emerged with the rank of Sergeant. He received the Silver Star Medal for gallantry in action. 100-19591-86

*See Appendix for citation.

Moscow Correspondent for Daily Worker

After returning from military service in 1946, Clark was active in veterans' affairs within the Communist Party. At this same time, he became associated with the Daily Worker, acting as foreign editor from 1950 to 1957. He was that paper's Moscow correspondent from 1950 to 1953, subsequently serving as United Nations correspondent and Washington correspondent. Clark contributed many articles dealing with foreign policy to Masses & Mainstream* and Political Affairs.*

Throughout his long Party career, Clark frequently spoke at Party meetings and forums throughout the country, conducted classes at national training schools, and taught at the Jefferson School of Social Science. He has participated in national conventions and national conferences of the Party.

100 - 19591 - 86, 90, 91

What Did the Party Do?

In 1955, Clark was severely criticized by William Z. Foster for minimizing the war danger, peddling the idea of "American exceptionalism," and expressing anti-Soviet and anti-Party sentiments. He was even more bitterly denounced by Foster and his adherents after the Hungarian revolt of 1956 when Clark condemned the use of Soviet troops for attempting to quell the rebellion. The Russian press itself attacked Clark as a "right wing" element

*See Appendix for citation.

who contended that many Marxist principles were obsolete and inapplicable to the United States.

Clark became increasingly dissatisfied with both the Communist Party, USA, and the Soviet Union. His writing was curtailed and his lecturing before communist groups forbidden. On September 9, 1957, his letter of resignation from the Communist Party appeared in the Daily Worker. Although it reflected that Clark retained his Marxist beliefs, he categorically denounced Stalinism as substituting "autocracy for democracy," asserted that Khrushchev and other Soviet leaders were implicated in the crimes of Stalin, and condemned the Communist Party, USA, as a sect which had become "a hindrance rather than a means for advancing socialism."

100-19591-90, 91 DW 9/9/57 p 4

Where Is He Today

Today, the Party accuses Clark of having abused his right to dissent within the Party, of having lost his theoretical bearings, of having lost faith. He is called a "deserter" and a "liquidationist." He is presently employed by the Direct Mail Envelope Company in New York City.

*100-19591-106, 110, under serial
from N.Y. 10/31/58 letter to b*

SAMUEL DARCY

Born in Russia

Darcy was born November 6, 1904, in Russia, came to the United States in 1909, and became an American citizen in 1921. 61-6593-309

Delegate to the Comintern, Lecturer, Editor

Darcy came into the communist movement in the United States while quite young. In 1925, he was elected to the national committee of the Young Workers League.* After he joined the Communist Party, USA, he held positions as state secretary of the Party in California and Pennsylvania, and was a member of the Party's national committee.

He visited the Soviet Union when travelling abroad, 1927-1929 and 1935-1937, and was a delegate from the Communist Party, USA, to several congresses of the Comintern. While in Russia he lectured at the Lenin School.**

Darcy contributed articles to the communist press in the United States and for several years was editor of the Western Worker, * western

*See Appendix for citation.

**The Lenin School in Moscow was designed as a training center for an international corps of communist leaders. Its graduates acted in accordance with the discipline and policies of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It was founded in the 1920s and has now been discontinued.

organ of the Communist Party. Several of his lectures, given before the Philadelphia Workers School, were collected and bound in book form.

61-6593-309

Arrested for Perjury

Darcy was arrested in 1939 on perjury charges arising from a 1934 election in which he was the communist candidate for Governor of California.

61-6593-309

What Did the Party Do?

In the early part of 1944, Sam Darcy was released from his position as district organizer because of opposition to the policies of Earl Browder, then head of the Communist Party, USA. Darcy was expelled from the Party in June, 1944, on the charges that he had initiated an organized movement attacking the policies of the Party. Factionalist activities within the Party are even more common now than they were in Darcy's time.

In 1945, Darcy was approached to return to the Communist Party, but, since he flatly refused to allow the national committee to review a book he had written, the committee would not consider his return.

61-6593-309; DW 6/5/44 p8

Where Is He Today?

Since that time Darcy has been active in factional groups within the United States. He still retains his Marxist beliefs but strongly disagrees with

the present leadership of the Communist Party. Despite his past contributions to the Party, its leaders refuse to accept him. However, he now operates a lucrative furniture business which continues to flourish under the "decadent, moribund" capitalist system which he has been critical of for so long. 61-6593-309, 316, 317, 320, 326

BELLA V. DODD

Crippled in Childhood

Bella V. Dodd was born in Italy on October 8, 1902. She came to the United States in 1909 and became a naturalized citizen in 1928. When Dodd was 16 years old she lost a portion of her foot--a misfortune which blighted her outlook on life.

Graduate Lawyer, Member Phi Beta Kappa

She became a serious, industrious student in school and completed her undergraduate course at Hunter College in New York City where she was president of the student council, chairman of the honor board, and a member of Phi Beta Kappa. Dodd received her Master's degree from Columbia University and worked on her Doctorate there, but switched to a law course at New York University. She was admitted to the New York State Bar in 1931.

Teacher, Legislative Representative

In 1926, Dodd returned to Hunter College as a teacher of political science where she was to remain for 13 years. Early in the 1930s, she became active in various teachers' associations. As a result, she was made

legislative representative of Teachers Union, Local #5, of the American Federation of Labor. During this period, Dodd was not openly affiliated with the Communist Party, but worked on its behalf in her union activities. Her concealed membership allowed her to work even more effectively for the Party. She also organized the School for Democracy* in New York City.

Member National Committee

In 1943, Dodd became an open member of the Communist Party, USA, and took over the job of legislative representative of the New York Party district. When the national convention of the Party was held in 1944, she became a member of its national committee. This brought her into the top leadership--the inner circle--of the Party. 100-6951-172

Pro-Browderite

In 1945, when Browder was deposed as leader of the Communist Party, Dodd incurred the disfavor of the Party due to her support of Browder. Although she still remained a member and continued her work, there was a drumfire against her in the Party. She was condemned for propounding ideas which the Party itself is now advocating. 100-6951-172

*See Appendix for citation.

What Did the Party Do?

In 1948, Dodd was interrogated by a Party disciplinary committee. This was the beginning of a campaign of slurs, character defamation, and harassments, ultimately leading to Dodd's formal expulsion by the Party in June, 1949. 100-6951-172

During the period that followed, Dodd received calls, letters, and telegrams of hate and vituperation, many from people she did not know. There were economic threats against her law practice. Trade-union communists and Party members withdrew their pending cases and announced there would be no more referrals to her.

Where Is She Today?

Today, Bella V. Dodd, like so many more former communists, is rebuilding a broken life. The Communist Party which ruined her life, continues to vilify her and to do everything possible to complete its job of ruination as it has done with similar former communists. She is still practicing law in New York City.

NYC Telephone Dir. 1959; 100-6951

SAM DON

Naturalized American

Sam Don was born November 3, 1903, in Warsaw, Poland. He came to the United States in 1920 and became an American citizen in 1927.

100-17236-98

Editor, Educational Director

Don became active in the communist movement in the United States early in the 1920s and by 1926 was a member of the national committee of the Young Workers League. In 1927, he was organizer for the New York State Communist Party and a lecturer at the Workers School* in New York City. Around 1931, he attended the postgraduate course at the Lenin School. He was associate editor of the Daily Worker from the late 1930s until 1943. Don took an active part in national training schools of the Party, holding the position of national education director for a period of years. By 1945, he had become organizer of the Pennsylvania Party district and a member of the national committee.

100-17236-98

What Did the Party Do?

In the middle of 1945, Don was removed from leadership in the Party allegedly because he disagreed with its officials and because he was

*See Appendix for citation.

engaged in factionalist activities. He was relegated to a minor position and, in March, 1951, expelled.

100-17236-98

Where Is He Today?

Today, out of the Party to which he devoted the major portion of his life, Don is employed by a printing concern in Tenaflly, New Jersey. He still maintains his belief in communist doctrines but is now deprived of contributing his years of experience to further the cause of the Communist Party, USA.

100-17236-111

WILLIAM F. DUNNE

Reared in Poverty

William F. Dunne was born September 10, 1897, in Little Falls, Minnesota. He was one of a large and poverty-stricken family. Early in life he became active in radical and strike movements in the northwestern United States. 61-130-1, 80

Charter Member of the Communist Party

Dunne became a charter member of the Communist Party in the United States. For many years he was a member of its political and executive committees. He was co-editor of the Daily Worker when it was published in Chicago and assistant editor when it was moved to New York City. Dunne has been an instructor at the Workers School, active in union activities on behalf of the Party, and has attended national conventions of the Party. 61-130-1, 63, 79, 81; CP Brief pp 91, 92, 105, 115, 117, 133, 134, 136, 143, 146

Arrested at Bridgman Convention

In August, 1922, Dunne, together with other ranking members of the Communist Party, was arrested at a secret Party convention held in Bridgman, Michigan, for violation of the Michigan state criminal syndicalism law. The Worker 9/23/22 pp 1, 4; CP Brief, Exhibit 66

Delegate to Comintern Congress

In the middle 1920s, Dunne represented the American Communist Party at the headquarters of the Communist International in Moscow, and was a delegate to the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern in 1928.

CP Brief pp 104, 120, 122

What Did the Party Do?

In 1934, Dunne was removed from all positions of leadership in the Party, ostensibly due to his refusal to accept the personal discipline of the Party. He remained an inactive Party member until his expulsion in September, 1946. The Party accused Dunne of factionalism and of fighting against the political and tactical line of the Party. This was his thanks for his years of devotion to the Party.

DW 9/27/46 p4

Where Is He Today?

Although no longer a member of the Party, Dunne still retained his communist beliefs. He joined with other expelled Party members in attempting to reform the Party leadership. Dunne made numerous unsuccessful attempts to rejoin the Party. On September 25, 1953, a broken man, he died of a heart attack. *61-130-100, 101*

MAX EASTMAN

Author, Editor, Lecturer

Max Eastman, well-known author, editor, and lecturer, was born January 4, 1883, at Canandaigua, New York. He received a Bachelor of Arts degree from Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts, and studied and taught at Columbia University from 1907 to 1911.

Who's Who In America, 1958-59

Intellectual Power in the Communist Party

Eastman became editor of the radical weeklies The Masses and The Liberator from 1912 to 1922. When the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia in 1917, Eastman backed them to the hilt in The Liberator. He raised the money to send John Reed, American radical journalist to Russia and published his articles in this country. These were later collected in book form and published under the title Ten Days That Shook The World. Eastman dedicated himself to Lenin and Leninism. In 1919, as editor of The Masses, he was prosecuted by the Department of Justice for seditious conspiracy. Eastman, like all other convinced communists, was willing then to violate laws to spread communism.

Visit to Russia

In 1922, Eastman went to Russia, attended the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, and remained abroad until 1927 travelling through various countries. While abroad, Eastman published a book criticizing the Bolshevik regime for creating an intellectual prison around itself. He based this study on his firsthand experience in Russia. He still, however, maintained his essential belief in the Soviet system and retained his admiration of Lenin.

What Did the Party Do?

When Eastman returned from Europe in 1927, he was completely ostracized by the official communist movement in the United States. He was regarded as a traitor, a renegade, and a veritable pariah. He denounced Stalin and proceeded to translate and publish many works of Leon Trotsky which infuriated the Party. In the early 1940s, Eastman completely rejected the principles of Marxism-Leninism and his belief in socialism as a system of government.

Eastman's complete disillusionment with communism took a longer period than was required for many other former communists who have left the

Party. In Eastman's case, it shows the great depth of his belief in socialism as a young man and the strength of the communist grasp on man's mind. 100-79256-10; 61-7590-187; *Max Eastman,*

"Reflections on the Failure of Socialism," pp. 7-20

Where Is He Today?

In 1941, Eastman became roving editor for the Reader's Digest.

In this capacity and as an independent author, he has militantly attacked communism with every means at his command. 100-79256-5, 11;

65-51593-33 pp 194, 195; Who's Who in America,
1958-59

HOWARD FAST

Native New Yorker

Howard Fast was born of Jewish parents in New York City on November 11, 1914. He attended George Washington High School and during 1931 and 1932 studied at the National Academy of Design in New York.

160-327116-140

Became Party Member in 1943

Due to poverty-stricken circumstances, Fast started on a series of underpaid menial jobs at the age of 11. It was while working as a messenger for the New York Public Library in 1932 that he first became acquainted with communist theory. Fast did not become a Party member at this time, but did associate with communists, attend their meetings, and read their literature. In 1943, as an avowed anti-Fascist and spurred by the conviction that the communists were the most skillful fighters against Hitlerism, Fast joined the Communist Party. *Howard Fast, "The Naked God,"*

pp 7-13

Eminent and Successful Novelist

In enrolling Fast, the Party was getting a highly successful novelist, the author of many books and articles. Much of his work dealt with the American revolution and the western frontiers and was intensely patriotic.

One critic described him as the "next really important American historical novelist." In 1943, Fast's development as a stylist was evident as well as his increasing maturity as a novelist. At this time he was also contemplating writing a play, a new medium for him. Current Biography, 1943 pp 200-202;
100-327116-140

Exploited by the Communist Party

The Communist Party began to make good use of Fast's prestige and popularity in the literary world. Between 1944 and 1956, at least 115 feature articles by Fast appeared in the Daily Worker. Many of them were violently critical of the United States Government's domestic and foreign policies and highly complimentary to the Soviet Government. During this same period, over 360 articles and advertisements concerning Fast also appeared in the Daily Worker. In addition, Fast wrote numerous books glorifying the Party line such as Peekskill, USA, published in 1951 and dedicated to procommunist Paul Robeson, the famous American Negro singer. Fast's books have been translated into more languages of the Soviet bloc than any other contemporary American writer, and he has enjoyed tremendous popular appeal from Red China to the Soviet Union. In 1953, Fast was awarded the Stalin Peace Prize for "helping to strengthen the cause of peace between peoples." 100-327116-140; The New Leader 11/5/51 p14

Active in Communist Front Groups

Fast attended national committee meetings of the Communist Party, was on the national cultural commission and on the national administrative board of the Daily Worker. He was active in over 23 communist front groups, played a leading role in the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace* held in New York City in March, 1949, and spoke before the World Congress for Peace* held in Paris, France, in April, 1949. In 1950, Fast paid a \$300 fine and served three months in a Federal prison for refusing to submit the records of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee* to the House Committee on Un-American Activities. In February, 1953, Fast invoked the fifth amendment numerous times when testifying before the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Government Operations, United States Senate, inquiring into the Voice of America program. He refused to answer all questions pertaining to his membership and activities in the Communist Party.

100-327116-140; 62-98810-74

What Did the Party Do?

In February, 1956, Nikita Khrushchev, first secretary of the central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, denounced Stalin and Stalinism as the cult of the individual and made many startling revelations of the crimes that occurred during Stalin's long reign. Subsequently, a Polish

*See Appendix for citation.

communist newspaper revealed the repression of Yiddish culture in the Soviet Union and the execution of numerous Yiddish writers in that country under Stalin. This news, coming from communist sources, was a crushing blow to Howard Fast. It shattered his illusions about democracy and equality in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It opened his eyes to the cruelties of Stalin's regime and to Khrushchev's failure to guarantee that they would not be repeated.

On February 1, 1957, he publicly announced--not in the Daily Worker but in The New York Times--that he had disassociated himself from the Communist Party, USA. 100-327116-153

Where Is He Today?

Following Fast's defection from the Party, he has been bitterly attacked by the communist press of this country and by that of the Soviet bloc. William Z. Foster has accused Fast of slanders against the Soviet Union and of playing directly into the hands of the class enemy. He caustically refers to Fast as a "bourgeois nationalist." Fast's book The Naked God, which is basically his explanation for leaving the Party, was the subject of an extremely sarcastic, vituperative, and disparaging review in Political Affairs. The review describes Fast as a "monstrous

opportunist" who has become an "open enemy of the working class movement everywhere" and a "noisy propagandist for war against the Soviet Union." The most scathing denunciation of Fast came from the Soviet Union itself. Literaturnaya Gazeta, leading Soviet literary newspaper, devoted more than a page to Fast castigating him as a "militant Zionist" and an "apologist for Israel." He was called a "swindler," a "savage," and a "deserter," and was characterized as "immodest, discourteous, cheap, wall-eyed, cowardly, dishonest, and indecent."

Today, Fast is alienated from his comrades of many years, his prestige as a novelist has been sacrificed because of his former communist connections, and his books are banned in many stores and libraries throughout the United States. He has joined the ranks of so many other communist intellectuals here and abroad who have dared to defy Party leadership. Under communism, he probably would have been liquidated. As a matter of fact, some of his close friends have feared that his former comrades would murder him.

DW 6/17/58 p 5; Political Affairs Feb. 1948 p 54;

NY Times 1/31/58; 100-327116-A Section 2; 100-327116-196

JOHN GATES

Native New Yorker

Since the outspoken criticism of Stalin at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Union in February, 1956, the Communist Party, USA, has been in a state of widespread confusion, dissatisfaction, and disillusionment. This situation has resulted in a considerable loss of membership by the Party, including many functionaries, the most prominent of which is John Gates. Gates is a native New Yorker, born in 1913. (100-55618-104)

Veteran of Spanish Civil War and World War II

Gates attended City College of New York in the early 1930s for several years but did not graduate. In 1931, he joined the Young Communist League(YCL) and in 1933 became a member of the Communist Party. During the middle 1930's, he was an active organizer for the YCL. He served in the Loyalist forces for 22 months during the Spanish Civil War and emerged as commander of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. He subsequently served four years in the United States Army during World War II and was mustered out as a Sergeant. After leaving the army, he became national veterans' director of the Communist Party. (100-55618-40, 87, 26, 25)

Daily Worker Editor

Between 1946 and 1948, Gates was a member of the national board and national committee of the Party, chairman of the national legislative commission, and chairman of the national review commission. In addition to these important Party posts, he held the influential position of editor of the Daily Worker and its Sunday edition, The Worker. In this connection, the Party itself has said that Gates brought to the paper a "keen sense of political direction, a fighting workingclass spirit and the qualities of leadership that distinguished him in all previous assignments." (100-55618-72 X, 104, 158; Pamphlet entitled "Brief Biographies of Dennis, Gates, Hall, Stachel, Winston, Davis, Green, Polach, Thompson, Winter, Williamson.")

Smith Act Defendant

In July, 1948, Gates was one of the original Party leaders indicted under the Smith Act of 1940. He was convicted, fined \$10,000, and sentenced to five years, which he served at the Federal penitentiary at Atlanta after the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Smith Act in June, 1951. Gates also served 30 days for contempt of court in 1949 when he refused to answer a proper question as a witness at his Smith Act trial. After his release from Atlanta in 1955, Gates returned to his position as editor of the Daily Worker. (100-3-74-5565; 100-55618-75, 132, 155, 158)

Wife Active Party Member

Gates has written numerous articles for the communist press and has acted as an eloquent spokesman for the Communist Party throughout the United States. His wife, Lillian Gates, was equally active in the Party and, at one time, was legislative director of the New York State Communist Party. She joined the Party around 1934, was active in the Young Communist League and its successor, the American Youth for Democracy, * and was an instructor of the Marxist Institute of the Jefferson School of Social Science.

(100-55618-288; 100-380079, 19, 66, 71)

What Did the Party Do?

In February, 1957, the Communist Party, USA, held its 16th National Convention, its first since 1950. The convention was preceded by intensive critical discussion among Party members. This discussion stemmed from the reappraisal of Stalin, plus the disclosure of the unjust execution of a number of communist leaders in the Soviet bloc, the revelation of the prevalence of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union, and the intervention of Soviet troops to suppress the rebellion in Hungary. As a result, factionalism developed among the Party's national leaders, resulting in two opposing groups headed respectively by William Z. Foster and John Gates. Foster attempted to minimize criticism of the Soviet Union by the Party and to

*See Appendix for citation.

preserve the Party as a strong, militant, highly disciplined Marxist-Leninist organization. Gates advocated a more outspokenly critical attitude toward the Soviet Union and transformation of the Party into a flexible, political action organization. The 16th convention resulted in a decided victory for Foster who was publicly acclaimed by the Soviet Union. (CINAL, 2/6/57, 2/20/57)

Gates struggled on for about a year publishing his views in the Daily Worker which he desperately strove to keep from being discontinued. From time to time, he was openly criticized by other world communist parties, including the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). In August, 1957, a member of the central committee of the CPSU published an article in the Soviet theoretical organ, Kommunist, condemning Gates for holding revisionist views. Gates' position was further weakened by the resignation of many of his supporters from the Communist Party, USA. On January 10, 1958, three days before the demise of the Daily Worker, and after 27 years of loyal Party activity, John Gates resigned from the Party and as editor of the Daily Worker and The Worker. (CINAL, 9/8/57, 1/15/58)

Where Is He Today?

Today, John Gates is supporting himself as a free-lance writer and lecturer, aided by his wife's employment in private industry. He has published a book The Story of an American Communist in which he denounces the

Communist Party, USA; as a misguided organization which "has ceased to be an effective force for democracy, peace and socialism in the United States." Gates, whom the Party had called "bold and resolute"--a working-class leader imbued with the spirit of Marxism-Leninism--is an object of slander and ridicule by the Party. Writing in The Worker, January 26, 1958, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a member of the Party's national committee, referred to him as a "stranger, drained of personality, incapable of fight-back, befuddled of conviction, lacking in courage, allowing himself to be made a punching bag." Today, Gates is linked with Earl Browder, long regarded by the Party as its most serious traitor, and whom Gates himself, in 1950, called the "troubador of American imperialism." (100-55618 Section 23 and 24; 100-55618-50, encl. p. 191; The Worker, 1/26/58 p. 16; POLITICAL AFFAIRS, MARCH, 1958, p.p. 7, 8; February, 1951, p. 80)

HARRISON GEORGE

Native American

Harrison George was born June 27, 1888, at Oakley, Kansas.

Served Prison Term for Seditious Conspiracy

In 1918, George was convicted of seditious conspiracy and sentenced to five years in prison which he served in the United States penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas. Earl Browder was also incarcerated in Leavenworth during part of this time. (100-18155-132; 40-3798)

Member National Committee, Editor

George became a charter member of the Communist Party, USA. During the 1920s, he was active in furthering Party aims in South America and China and around 1928 visited the Soviet Union. During the 1930s, he became a leading Party functionary and was appointed to the national committee. In 1944, he was a member of the California State committee of the Communist Party. He was associated with both the Daily Worker and the Daily People's World,* becoming editor of the latter newspaper. (100-18155-132)

*See Appendix for citation.

What Did the Party Do?

By 1946, George had fallen into the bad graces of the Party and was accused of factionalism. He attempted to convince Party leadership that he had no basic differences with the Party and, indeed, was against any form of factionalism. He abjectly implored the Party to consider his case favorably and let him remain a Party member--that, despite his serious illness, he would serve his cause within the limits of his strength. Despite his protestations, George was unanimously expelled in September, 1947, convicted of alleged anti-Party activities and an anti-Soviet attitude. (100-18155-132)

The Party has a long record of discarding its members when age or illness causes them to be a liability rather than an asset. There is no retirement program for communists.

Where Is He Today?

What happened to this man who, during his heyday in the Party, was described by his "comrades" as a "staunch communist" who "had served the working class for more than three decades of his life"? He and other expelled communists banded together in groups attacking the leadership of the Communist Party, USA. George, who was regarded by the Party as a master of vituperation himself, is now a target of the Party's vilification. (100-18155-132)

BENJAMIN GITLOW

Imprisoned for Syndicalism

Benjamin Gitlow was born in Elizabeth, New Jersey, on December 22, 1891. He was a member of the communist movement in the United States from its inception in 1919 until his expulsion in 1929. He was arrested in 1919 under the New York State criminal syndicalist law, was convicted, and his conviction unsuccessfully appealed to the United States Supreme Court. After serving approximately three years of his sentence, he was pardoned by the Governor of New York.

Editor, Communist Candidate for Vice President

During the period that Gitlow was in the communist movement, he assisted in publishing and editing early left-wing, socialist, and communist papers. Gitlow attended the underground convention of the Communist Party of America held at Bridgman, Michigan, in 1922. He became a member of the central executive committee of the Party, a member of its political committee, and a member of its secretariat. In 1924 and again in 1928, he was the communist candidate for Vice President of the United States.

Member of Executive Committee of Comintern

Gitlow attended executive and plenary sessions of the Comintern in Moscow in 1927 and 1928 as a member of the executive committee of the Workers (Communist) Party of America.

In 1928 and 1929, Gitlow was general secretary of the Workers (Communist) Party of America. Following the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern in Moscow held in 1928, he was a member of the executive committee of the Comintern and of the presidium of that executive committee.

What Did the Party Do?

Gitlow was expelled from the Party in 1929 after attending sessions of the Comintern's executive committee because he opposed the absolute dictatorship of Joseph Stalin over the communist organization in the United States.

(61-1544-74, 78; 62-65163-81; 105-31469)

Where Is He Today?

Since his expulsion, Gitlow has written two books: I Confess, in 1939, and The Whole of Their Lives, in 1948. He has been used as a witness by the Government in trials and hearings concerning communist activities in this country and has engaged in lecturing and participating in public forums. In recent years, Gitlow has been connected with militant anticommunist organizations, including the Theater for Freedom and the American Jewish League Against Communism, Incorporated. (61-1544-73, 78, 68; DW, 2/6/51, p. 11; 100-386448-10)

Today, Benjamin Gitlow is still a victim of relentless communist attacks upon his integrity. A man who sacrificed much for the communist movement in its early days continues, after all these years, to be a target of communist contempt and derision.

BARBARA HARTLE

Phi Beta Kappa

Barbara Hartle was born June 14, 1908, at Godfrey, Washington. She received a Bachelor of Arts degree from Washington State College in 1929 and was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. (100-107725-118, 183)

Organizer, Administrator

Hartle became a member of the Communist Party in the early 1930s primarily because of her interest in becoming a writer and due to her desire to see both sides of economic questions of the day. Within a year, she became secretary of the Spokane, Washington, unit of the Party. By 1940, she had become chairman of the Spokane section of the Party and in 1942 was sent to Seattle as a full-time functionary. As such, until 1950, she held positions as secretary of the King County Communist Party, was county organizer, and organizational secretary. She also held important posts on the district board, district committee, and secretariat. Hartle was one of the most active and vocal Party functionaries in the Northwest district. She practiced Marxism-Leninism 24 hours a day and was indeed a true "professional revolutionary."

(100-107725-183 237 273)

Underground Operator

In the middle of 1950, Hartle was relieved of all open Party assignments and ordered to go into the underground apparatus. Barbara Hartle disappeared from Seattle and remained in hiding until her arrest in September, 1952, as one of the defendants in the Seattle Smith Act Case.

What Did the Party Do?

Shortly after her arrest, Hartle was expelled from the Party allegedly for failing to comply with Party discipline which Party leaders themselves had violated. Through the incompetent administration of the underground, leaks had occurred and a scapegoat had to be found to protect those communist leaders guilty of inefficiency.

During her trial, no character witnesses were put on the stand nor was any defense offered in her behalf. In October, 1953, Hartle was sentenced to serve five years and was fined \$1,000. She and the other defendants immediately filed an appeal.

She was the last of the defendants to obtain bail bond money and remained in jail until her sister (a noncommunist) posted bail on December 8, 1953. (100-107725-271, 237, 183)

Where were her fellow communists when their assistance was needed? They were not to be found. What assistance did the Party give to a loyal, brilliant, and talented member in trouble? No assistance at all. The only gratitude the Party showed to this able member was to expel her on dull routine charges in order to be rid of her when she was in difficulty.

Where Is She Today?

It was no great surprise that, following this inhumane treatment, Barbara Hartle, in March, 1954, announced she could no longer believe in communist principles. On May 7, 1954, she began serving her sentence. On being released from jail in February, 1956, this woman commenced to rehabilitate a life brutally broken by the Communist Party. (100-107725-287, 273)

ANGELO HERNDON

Coal Miner at 13

Angelo Herndon was born May 6, 1913, at Wyoming, Ohio.

The son of Negro parents, he went to work in the coal mines of Kentucky at the age of 13. (61- 7259- 20)

In Jail 26 Months

In 1930, Herndon joined the Unemployed Council* of Birmingham, Alabama, and several weeks later became a member of the Communist Party. He became involved in communist activities in the South and in July, 1932, was arrested in Georgia on a charge of "inciting to riot." For this, Herndon spent 26 months in a Georgia prison. In the meantime, the Communist Party organized the Angelo Herndon Defense Committee* which succeeded in making Herndon a widely known figure in Party circles. The object of communist activities such as the Herndon Committee is to exploit an incident as a cause celebre or rallying point for communist agitation and propaganda purposes. Any benefits which accrue to the victim are purely incidental.

*See Appendix for citation.

Herndon was released on parole in 1937. In April of that year, the United States Supreme Court declared that the Georgia law was unconstitutional. (61-7259-20)

Member National Committee, Head of Young Communist League

In addition to his activities in the Communist Party, Herndon held the positions of national chairman and vice president of the Young Communist League. He became a member of the national committee of the Communist Party and wrote articles for the communist press. For a time he edited the Negro Quarterly, a magazine published in New York City and sponsored by the Communist Party. Herndon mistakenly thought that the Communist Party sincerely wanted to help improve the social conditions of the Negro. He was to be deeply disillusioned. (61-7259-20)

What Did the Party Do?

In 1943, the Party withdrew its support of the Negro Quarterly and accused Herndon of "nationalism." This accusation was the Party's way of condemning Herndon's earnest efforts to actually help the Negroes. The great exodus of Negroes from the Party in recent years is a credit to their intelligence--the Negroes have found the Party's interest to be self-serving. Negroes have witnessed communists preach equality but practice chauvinism.

Herndon then attempted to establish a newspaper in San Francisco, which effort was ignored by the Communist Party. In the early part of 1944, he was expelled from the Party. He was falsely branded as financially irresponsible, and his activities for the Negroes were stated to be directly contrary to the established policy of the Communist Party. (OW, 3/25/44, p.3)

Where Is He Today?

Today, Herndon is ostracized by his former close friends and co-workers in the Communist Party. He is regarded as a renegade by the Party which has adopted an extremely bitter attitude toward him. Herndon has naturally reciprocated. The name "Herndon" is to be found in the ranks of those despised by the American communists because he attempted to actually help the Negroes instead of exploiting them for communist ends.

JOHN LAUTNER

Born in Hungary

John Lautner was born in Hungary on January 1, 1902.

He came to the United States at the age of two and became a naturalized American citizen in May, 1926. (100-16177-83)

Active in Hungarian Affairs of the Communist Party, USA

Lautner joined the Communist Party in 1929 after being sponsored by a Party member of Hungarian descent. For the first few months of 1930 he attended a training school for Party members of Hungarian origin. At the close of the school, Lautner was assigned as district secretary of the Hungarian Bureau of the Communist Party in Detroit. The following year he went to Canada where he worked in conjunction with the Canadian Communist Party until his return to the United States in 1932. By 1936 he had become district organizer of the Party in West Virginia. In 1941, he attended a national training school which resulted in his appointment as national secretary of the Hungarian Bureau of the Party.

Member National Review Commission

Lautner entered the United States Army in November, 1942, and was honorably discharged with the rank of technician in June, 1945. He returned to his position with the Party's Hungarian Bureau and attended state and national conventions. He became chairman of the New York State review commission and was also placed on the powerful national review commission. (100-16177-35, 83)

What Did the Party Do?

In January, 1950, Lautner, acting upon the assumption that he was to be briefed for a new assignment in the Party, met with an important Party functionary. Instead of a friendly conference, he was given a kangaroo trial by Party leaders in a Cleveland cellar and accused of being a Government spy. The Party apparently based its suspicion of Lautner on his connection with United States Army intelligence during World War II. A few days later, he saw a notice of his expulsion from the Party in the Daily Worker which called him a traitor and an enemy agent of long standing. Communist "justice" does not entitle the accused to a trial by jury or any other rights for that matter.

(DW, 1/17/50, p. 2; 100-16177-52)

Where Is He Today?

Bewildered and disgusted at the action of the Communist Party, Lautner took an extensive vacation and, in the latter part of 1950, offered to furnish any information at his command relative to the Party to the United States Government. He felt that the Party was cold, calculating, and inhuman, particularly because his wife, a Party member, divorced him as a result of his expulsion. Dictatorial leadership of the Party divides the ordinary loyalties between a man and his wife or a man and his children. (100-16177-43, 44, 45)

JAY LOVESTONE

Born in Russia

Jay Lovestone was born at Grodno, Russia, on September 15, 1897. He came to the United States in 1907 and became an American citizen in 1919. (61-1292-70, 401)

General Secretary, Communist Party, USA

Lovestone first became active in the trade-union and socialist movements in the United States in 1912. In 1916, he participated in organizational work in the left-wing branch of the Socialist Party. When this branch withdrew to help create the Communist Party in 1919, Lovestone went along with it. During his association with the Party, Lovestone held every office from branch secretary to general secretary of the Party as well as being editor of the Daily Worker.

Prominent in Comintern

Lovestone was one of the founders of the American section of the Comintern and a member of the executive committee of the Comintern for a number of years. He was a member of the committee of elders at the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International held in 1928.

In 1929, Lovestone was severely censored by Comintern leaders. He attributed this fact to his serious differences with Russian Party leaders, consisting principally of a feeling on his part that the Comintern should have a collective international leadership in which the Soviet Union could be first but the first among equals.

What Did the Party Do?

In 1929, Lovestone went to Moscow to discuss his differences with the Soviets. Failing in his effort to gain the support of the Comintern, he left Moscow hastily by plane and managed to return to the United States. Scorned by the Russians, Lovestone was bitterly denounced by his fellow communists in the United States.

He, thereupon, formed an opposition party which he first termed the Communist Party, USA, (Majority Group) and which resulted in his official expulsion from the Communist International. His opposition group was variously known as the Communist Party Opposition, Independent Communist Labor League, and Independent Labor League until its dissolution in December, 1940. Its members were referred to as the "Lovestoneites."

(61-1292-64, 70, 401, 418)

Where Is He Today?

The only appreciation which Lovestone received for his years of service to the Communist Party was bitter denunciation, unrelenting personal hostility, and constant organized opposition. He received far better treatment from the hands of his one-time enemies, for democratic people overlooked his errors of the past. He now holds the important position of executive secretary of the Free Trade Union Committee of the American Federation of Labor - Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO). (61-1292-1618, 1570, 1891)

SAMUEL PUTNAM

Daily Worker Columnist, Teacher

Putnam was born October 10, 1888, in Rossville, Illinois. Both he and his wife, Riva, were members of the Communist Party, USA, from the middle 1930s through the middle 1940s. He taught at Party schools in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and was the nominal head of the communist-sponsored Tom Paine School of Social Science* in that city. Beside teaching, Putnam wrote a column for the Daily Worker and lectured before intellectual and professional groups of the Communist Party. (100-33303-47, 54, 60)

Victim of Tuberculosis

Putnam contracted tuberculosis and from 1938 to 1940 was a patient at a sanitarium in Saranac Lake, New York. During this period, his wife was employed at Party headquarters in Philadelphia in a clerical capacity. When Putnam was released from the hospital he returned to his Party duties. During his entire membership, he never was paid a regular salary with the exception of receiving \$15 per week for his column in the Daily Worker in 1943 and 1944. (100-33303-54, 60)

*See Appendix for citation.

What Did the Party Do?

Putnam left the Communist Party because of his dissatisfaction with its cynical attitude and its constantly changing line. Writing in The New Leader, a social democratic magazine, Putnam stated that he had remained in the Party for more than 10 years "out of a misguided humility," forcing himself "to live in the stifling atmosphere of the Party-Line with all its ruthless intolerance for the processes of the mind."

(100-33303-49; New Leader, 12/4/48, p. 14)

Where Is He Today?

On January 15, 1950, Samuel Putnam died. Despite his long Party association, Putnam's widow received absolutely no communications or condolences from the Party or from any of her former associates in the communist movement. No members of the Party attended the funeral.

(100-33303-57, 61)

CARL ROSS

Active in Young Communist League

Carl Ross was born in July 22, 1913, at Hancock, Michigan, of Finnish parentage. His father was an active communist and Ross joined the Young Communist League about 1928, three years before he graduated from high school. Ross held about every major position on a national and state level in the YCL, being national educational director, national secretary, member of its national council, and chairman of the New York State YCL. When the YCL was abolished in 1943, he became executive secretary of its successor, the American Youth for Democracy, until his resignation in 1946. In 1937, he visited the Soviet Union, and in 1943 and 1945 attended socialist youth conferences in Mexico City and Havana. (100- 54477-183, 153, 192, 162, 21, 24; DW, 10/23/53 p. 5)

State Secretary Minnesota Communist Party

In addition to his work in communist youth groups, Ross became prominent in the Communist Party itself. He was elected a member of the New York State Party executive committee in 1943 and a member of the national committee in 1945. In 1946, Ross became executive secretary of the Communist Party for the states of Minnesota and North and South Dakota.

(100- 54477-183)

Convicted for Harboring Communist Fugitives

In 1951, Carl Ross disappeared into the communist underground apparatus. Ross was located and arrested by the FBI in August, 1953, in an isolated cabin in the Sierra Nevada mountains of California. With Ross were four persons, including Robert Thompson and Sidney Steinberg, members of the Party's national board who had become fugitives from justice after their convictions under the Smith Act were upheld by the Supreme Court in June, 1951. Ross was convicted for harboring and concealing Thompson and Steinberg and was sentenced to three years which he served in the United States penitentiary at McNeil Island, Washington. He was released on January 6, 1956. (100 - 54477 - 281, 284)

What Did the Party Do?

After Ross was released from prison, he returned to his Party job in Minnesota. At this time, he also was put in charge of agricultural work for the Party in the Midwest. In May, 1957, he became national farm secretary and a member of the Party's national executive committee. (100 - 54477 - 283, 290, D.W., 5/6/57)

During the Summer of 1957, Ross began to evidence some dissatisfaction with Party policies, feeling that resolutions passed at the 16th National Convention were not being adhered to. That Fall, he said

that he was " sick and tired of being labelled a revisionist simply because he raises some problems and disagrees" with some members of the national committee. In February, 1958, Ross was dropped from the national executive committee and in March, 1958, resigned as Minnesota State secretary of the Party. In August, 1958, Ross resigned from the Party itself. (100-54477-304; Airtel, Minneapolis, 8/15/58, re CPUSA - FACTIONALISM, 100-3-88 -)

Where Is He Today?

Today, Ross is unemployed and is studying Russian and Spanish to qualify as a translator. The Party owes him a large sum of money in back pay. He does not have much to show for thirty years of leadership in the communist movement. Ross criticizes leaders of the Communist Party for failing to realize that they should adapt communist principles to the United States and not blindly follow the policies of the Soviet Union. He still believes that socialism can be achieved here, but not through the medium of the Communist Party, USA. (100-54477-304, 312)

VERN SMITH

College Student

Vern Smith was born May 8, 1891, at Earlimart, California.

He graduated from the University of California in 1915, majoring in economics.

(100-17082-9, 38)

Newspaper Editor, Lecturer

Smith soon became active in the Industrial Workers of the World, an early radical group. In the early 1920s he joined the Communist Party. Smith became an important figure in the communist press and around 1932 was managing editor of the Daily Worker. He subsequently served as Moscow correspondent for this paper for three years.

Smith joined the staff of the Daily People's World at its inception in 1938 and rose to the position of foreign affairs editor which he held until his expulsion from the Communist Party in 1946. In addition to his newspaper activities, Smith held positions in the Party on a state and county level and lectured on behalf of the Party. In view of his ability and experience as a newspaperman, Smith could have tripled his salary working elsewhere, but he preferred to remain with the Daily People's World and propagandize the communist cause. (100-17082-29, 33, 36, 38)

What Did the Party Do?

On August 29, 1946, the Daily People's World headlined "VERN SMITH is expelled from Communist Party." After almost 25 years, Smith was ejected because of a so-called disagreement with Party policies. He was charged with participating in factionalist activities, making slanderous attacks on Party leaders, of being a Trotskyite and an unprincipled leftist adventurer. The Party was unable to tolerate Vern Smith, one of its most able and loyal leaders, because he dared to think beyond the pages of Stalinist textbooks.

(100-17082-36; Daily People's World, 8/29/46, p. 4; 10/5/46)

Where Is He Today?

After his expulsion, Smith engaged in splinter group activities-- supporting the principles of communism, but opposing the leadership of the Communist Party, USA. Today, Vern Smith is living the life of an outcast. He is cut off from his lifelong associates, reviled by the Communist Party, his devotion to the Party rendered useless. This, then is his reward for 25 years of devoted service. (100-17082-42; 51; 100-64700-859)

LORETTA STACK

Reared in Poverty

Loretta Stack was born May 2, 1913, in Willimantic, Connecticut, the daughter of immigrant Polish parents. Because of extreme poverty she was forced to go to work at the age of 14 in a textile mill. She quickly became involved in union activities and by the time she was 18 had experienced her first strike. (100-340244-65; The Worker, 4/13/52, May. p.8)

Organizational Secretary, California Communist Party

Around 1931, Stack joined the Young Communist League and soon became a leader in this organization. During the early 1930s she attended the Lenin School in Moscow. After a number of years of Party and trade-union activity in the eastern part of the United States, Stack went to California as a field representative of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America. She resigned her union post in 1945 upon being elected organization secretary of the California State Communist Party. Stack has held numerous additional posts in the California Party organization including membership on the review commission and the executive board. In 1948, she attended the national convention of the Party. At Party meetings, where she frequently served as chairman, she was a most vociferous and faithful proponent of the Party Line. (100-340244-4, 24, 65, 85, 115, 345; The Worker, 4/13/52, May. p.8)

Prosecuted Under Smith Act

In 1951, Stack, together with other Party members, was indicted for conspiring to violate the Smith Act. She was held in jail for about four months not being able to make \$50,000 bond but was released when her bail was reduced to \$20,000. In August, 1952, Stack was found guilty of the Smith Act violation and sentenced to a term of five years and \$10,000 fine. Her conviction was upheld by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals but reversed by the United States Supreme Court in June, 1957, which ordered a new trial for Stack. Upon a motion made by the Government, the indictment against Stack was dismissed in December, 1957. (100-340244-59, 109, 115, 126; The Worker, 4/13/53, mag. p. 8)

Active in Communist Front Groups

While out on bail, Stack was active in communist and communist front groups. She attended lectures and affairs sponsored by the Communist movement, spoke at meetings in defense of communists convicted under the Smith Act, taught at the California Labor School, and worked part-time at Party headquarters. (100-340244-100, 109, 116, 119)

Loses Union Membership

In order to help support her two children, Stack, aside from her demanding Party activities, worked as a waitress. In December, 1952, as a result of her Smith Act conviction, she was denied membership in her local waitresses union.

(100-340244-100)

What Did the Party Do?

In early 1958, Stack became extremely upset over the bitter factionalist fight raging in the Party and the apparent inability or refusal of the national executive committee to carry out the decisions of the 16th national convention. She felt that with the same old dogmatic "iron core" leadership remaining, there was no opportunity for the Party to overcome its critical isolation from the American working class. In view of this discouraging outlook and in the belief that the Communist Party, USA, was no longer the instrument for bringing socialism to the American people, Stack resigned in March, 1958. (100-340244-128)

Where Is She Today?

Today, Loretta Stack is divorced from the Party in which she spent 26 years. She is separated from the trade-union movement which she had earnestly striven to indoctrinate in communist ideology. She has now joined the ranks of those excommunists who, while still retaining their Marxist beliefs, have been unable to promote effective opposition to the Communist Party, USA.

JOSEPH STAROBIN

Graduate Chemist

Joseph Starobin was born December 19, 1913, in New York City. He graduated from De Witt Clinton High School, New York, in 1929. In June, 1933, he was expelled by the College of the City of New York for participating in a disturbance planned to interfere with the military activities of the college Reserve Officers Training Corps. In June, 1936, he graduated from New York University with a Bachelor of Arts degree majoring in chemistry. (100-51287-214)

Foreign Correspondent for Daily Worker

Starobin joined the Young Communist League in 1930 and became a member of the Communist Party in 1934. He has had a long career in the Party as a writer, instructor, and foreign correspondent. He has been editor of the Young Communist Review, foreign editor of New Masses,* foreign editor and foreign correspondent of the Daily Worker and The Worker, traveling extensively in South America, Europe, the Soviet Union, China, and Indo-China. Among the books he has published are Eyewitness in Indo-China and Paris to Peking.

*See Appendix for citation.

Starobin toured the Pacific Coast and East Coast of the United States in 1953 and 1954 under the auspices of the Daily Worker and the Daily People's World lecturing on China and Indo-China. In 1955, Starobin was accredited to the United Nations as correspondent for the Canadian Tribune, communist newspaper published in Canada.

Party Positions

Starobin was a member of the Party's foreign affairs committee, secretary of its peace committee, and a delegate to national conventions. During the 1940s, he was a lecturer at the Jefferson School of Social Science and a member of the Speakers Bureau of the School of Jewish Studies* in 1954. (100-51287-216)

Defense Witness at Smith Act Trial

In 1949, Starobin appeared as a defense witness in the Smith Act trial of the eleven members of the national board of the Communist Party. In 1955, Starobin, in testimony before the United States Subcommittee to Investigate Administration of the Internal Security Act declined to answer questions regarding Party membership and activities on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments. (100-51287-216, 242)

*See Appendix for citation.

What Did the Party Do?

In 1950, when Starobin left the United States for Europe, he was not in the good graces of the national leadership of the Party because he was opposed to the extreme "left-sectarianism" of William Z. Foster and his supporters. Many of his articles written abroad were not published by the communist press in the United States because they reflected adversely on American Party leaders. Upon his return to this country in the Summer of 1953, he was refused reinstatement on the Daily Worker and was completely ostracized by Party leaders. He was characterized as an independent liberal or an opportunist who could not be depended upon to always follow the current Party line. His lecture engagements before communist gatherings were curtailed. In the early part of 1956, Starobin was dropped from membership by the Party, being accused of minimizing American imperialism, of stating that war is not inevitable, and of preaching anti-Semitism. (100-51287-216, 231, 237, 229, 234)

Where Is He Today?

Today, Joseph Starobin's Marxist activities are confined to writing and lecturing. He has spoken before student groups at various colleges throughout the country including the University of California, the University of Wisconsin,

and the University of Chicago. He is presently engaged in writing a book dealing with the "dynamics of western society and the ex-radical." Since leaving the Party, he has been connected with socialist groups and is currently employed as editor of a dental publication published in New York City. (100-51287-251, 246, 254)

APPENDIX

Organizations listed hereinafter have been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450 or have been cited by Congressional or state committees.

Those cited by the Attorney General have been identified with the notation (Executive Order 10450) following the name of the organization.

Those cited by Congressional or state committees are listed in two editions of the Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., on May 14, 1951, and January 2, 1957. They have been identified with the edition and page number of the Guide following the name of the organization.

Abraham Lincoln Brigade (Executive Order 10450)

American Youth for Democracy (Executive Order 10450)

Angelo Herndon Defense Committee (1957 Guide, p. 114)

Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace
(1957 Guide, p. 36)

Daily People's World (1957 Guide, p. 100)

Jefferson School of Social Science (Executive Order 10450)

Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (Executive Order 10450)

Masses & Mainstream (1957 Guide, p. 104)

New Masses (Executive Order 10450)

Political Affairs (1957 Guide, p. 106)

School for Democracy (1957 Guide, p. 78)

School of Jewish Studies (Executive Order 10450)

Tom Paine School of Social Science (Executive Order 10450)

Trade-Union Educational League (Executive Order 10450)

Unemployed Councils (1957 Guide p. 84)

Western Worker (1957 Guide, p. 110)

Workers School (1957 Guide, p. 93)

World Congress for Peace (1957 Guide, p. 96)

Young Communist League (Executive Order 10450)

Young Workers League (1957 Guide, p. 98)